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Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /024 W
---------- 064030
R 010904Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3402

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 18668

DEPARTMENT FOR H

E O 11652: NA
TAGS: EAID, PFOR, RP
SUBJ: CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ' VISIT TO THE PHILIPPINES

REF: MANILA 18522

1. SUMMARY. DURING VISIT OF ABOUT TWO DAYS TO THE PHILIP-
PINES, CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN SOLARZ FOLLOWED AN ENERGETIC SCHEDULE
WHICH INCLUDED MEETINGS WITH ADB VICE PRESIDENT, DEPUTY
DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT
AUTHORITY, AND PRESIDENT MARCOS (REPORTED REFTEL). HE HAD
WORKING MEALS DURING WHICH HE EXCHANGED VIEWS WITH, AMONG
OTHERS, REPRESENTATIVES OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES; AN IBRD
PROJECT MANAGER; AN OFFICIAL OF THE POPULATION COMMISSION;
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNDP, UNFPA AND AUSTRALIAN AND
JAPANESE EMBASSIES; AGRICULTURE SECRETARY TANCO; BUDGET
COMMISSIONER LAYA; FORMER EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MELCHOR; AND
PROFESSORS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES. HE
VISITED TONDO FORESHORE URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT, AND DEVOTED
ONE FULL DAY TO A FIELD TRIP TO CENTRAL LUZON, WHERE
HE VISITED RURAL BANKS, COOPERATIVES, A FAMILY PLANNING
CLINIC, FLOOD CONTROL STRUCTURE, RURAL ELECTRIFICATION
PROJECT, AND HAD LUNCH WITH A GROUP OF PEACE CORPS
VOLUNTEERS. WE BELIEVE THE VISIT ACCOMPLISHED TWO
THINGS: SOLAREZ IMPRESSED GOP OFFICIALS AND
OTHERS WITH THE SERIOUSNESS OF HIS CONCERN ABOUT DEVELOP-
MENT AND COMMITMENT TO A PROPERLY APPLIED FOREIGN
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ASSISTANCE PROGRAM. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE THINK

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SOLARZ WAS ABLE TO DEEPEN HIS UNDERSTANDING OF
THE POLITICAL SITUATION HERE AND OF PARTICULAR DEVELOP-
MENT ISSUES OF CONCERN TO HIM. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING ARRIVAL ON THE AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 23,
CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ PROCEEDED IMMEDIATELY TO THE ADB
TO MEET WITH AMBASSADOR ROY PAPP, U.S. DIRECTOR, AND
C.S. KRISHNA MOORTHI, ADB VICE PRESIDENT. MOORTHI
DESCRIBED CURRENT ADB DEVELOPMENT EMPHASIS AS FALLING
IN TWO AREAS. IN THE FINANCIAL AREA, THE GOAL SHOULD
BE TO ACHIEVE A BALANCE IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE FLOWS BY
INCREASING EXPORT EARNINGS AND CONSERVING ON THE IMPORT
SIDE. IN THE AREA OF DEVELOPMENT PER SE, THE ADB SEEKS
TO PROMOTE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND INCLUSION OF A WIDE
POPULATION BASE IN THE PROCESS, WHICH ARGUES AGAINST A
PREVIOUS BANK BIAS TOWARD EXCESSIVELY HIGH TECHNOLOGY.
RESPONDING TO SOLARZ' QUESTION REGARDING REASONS FOR
THE SUCCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IN KOREA AND TAIWAN, MOORTHI
ASSERTED THAT IN BOTH CASES, AT CRUCIAL TIMES IN THE
DEVELOPMENT CYCLE, PER CAPITA INPUTS OF EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE
WERE VERY HIGH. HE ALSO POINTED TO TRAUMATIC BUT
"THERAPEUTIC" SHOCKS TO THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SYSTEMS WHICH PROVED TO BE INVIGORATING, AS
CONTRASTED TO THE CONTINUING "ECONOMIC SOMNOLENCE" OF
SOME OTHER COUNTRIES. SOLARZ ASKED ABOUT THE RELEVANCE
OF AUTHORITARIANISM, -- WHETHER THE ABSENCE OF DEMOCRACY
SHOULD BE CONSIDERED A PRECONDITION FOR PROGRESS.
MOORTHI RESPONDED THAT "LICENSE HAS BEEN INIMICAL TO
PROGRESS, LIBERTY HAS NOT." WITH RESPECT TO THE
PHILIPPINES, HE OBSERVED THAT PRESENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS
COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MADE UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM, THAT THE
COUNTRY HAS DEVELOPED EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT AND A WILL-
INGNESS TO BE GOVERNED. TO SOLARZ' OBSERVATION THAT
IT IS DIFFICULT TO RATION LIBERTY, MOORTHI RESPONDED
THAT WHAT WAS PREVIOUSLY CALLED LIBERTY WAS EPHEMERAL,
AND THAT "EVERYTHING MUST BE RATIONED." HE ACKNOWLEDGED
THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING THE NEED FOR COLLECTIVE
EFFORT WITH INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, BUT CHALLENGED THE CON-
CEPT THAT TRUE DEMOCRACY IS SHRINKING IN ASIA.

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3. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ VISITED THE IBRD-ASSISTED TONDO
FORESHOURE URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, WHERE HE WAS BRIEFED
BY GAUDENCIO TOBIAS, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE NATIONAL
HOUSING AUTHORITY, AND JOSE YUSON, PROJECT MANAGER.
SOLARZ NOTED THAT THE MEDIA PRESENTATION ON THE HISTORY
AND RATIONAL OF THE PROJECT SURPASSED ANYTHING HE HAD
SEEN WHILE IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE IN ALBANY. SOLARZ
THEN TOOK A WALKING TOUR OF A NEARBY SLUM AREA, TAKING

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THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH A NUMBER OF RESIDENTS, VISIT THEIR HOMES, AND PURSUE QUESTONS RELATING TO NUTRITION, HEALTH, FAMILY PLANNING, EDUCATION, EMPLOY-MENT, AND HOUSING. ANTHONY PELLEGRINI, IBRD PROJECT MANAGER WHO WAS ALSO VISITING MANILA, MET LATER WITH SOLARZ TO DISCUSS THE TONDO PROJECT.

4. IN THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 23, AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN AND MEMBERS OF THE MISSION STAFF BRIEFED SOLARZ ON THE GENERAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PICTURE, THE USAID PROGRAM, AND ON SUBJECTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE CONGRESSMAN; I.E., NUTRITION, FAMILY PLANNING, LAND REFORM, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND THE IMPACT OF THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME ON DEVELOPMENT.

5. THE SUBJECT OF NUTRITION WAS FURTHER EXPLORED AT A WORKING DINNER WITH VOLAG REPRESENTATIVES AND USAID STAFF. SOLARZ INQUIRED INTO THE IMPLICATIONS OF AN EXPANSION OF PL 480 TITLE II AID. THE DISCUSSION LEFT HIM WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE VOLAGS ARE EFFECTIVE, AND THAT THEIR EFFORTS ARE WELL-COORDINATED.

6. THE ENTIRE DAY OF NOVEMBER 24 WAS DEVOTED TO A FIELD TRIP TO CENTRAL LUZON. ACCOMPANIED BY TWO USAID OFFICERS, SOLARZ VISITED TWO RURAL BANKS, A FARMER-BARRIO COOPERATIVE, AN AREA MARKETING COOPERATIVE, AND A SMALL FARM EQUIPMENT MANUFACTURER. DURING A VISIT TO A FAMILY PLANNING CLINIC, SOLARZ INVESTIGATED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PROGRAM AT THIS LEVEL. HE VISITED A FLOOD CONTROL STRUCTURE WHICH IS ONE OF SEVERAL IN THE AREA CON-STRUCTED WITH USAID ASSISTANCE FOLLOWING THE FLOODS OF 1972. HE HAD LUNCH WITH A GROUP OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS WORKING IN VARIOUS PROJECTS IN THE AREA.
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FINALLY, HE VISITED AN ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE IN SOUTH NUEVA ECIJA AND TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS VARIOUS IMPLICATIONS OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AND THE EFFECTIVE-NESS OF THE COOPERATIVE SYSTEM.

7. DURING A WORKING DINNER HOSTED BY THE DCM ON NOV. 24, SOLARZ EXPLORED A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENT ISSUES WITH A WIDE RANGE OF ARTICULATE PARTICIPANTS FROM GOVERNMENT AND ACADEMIA.
AGRICULTURE SECRETARY TANCO DISCUSSED MEANS OF REACHING HIGHER LEVELS OF FOOD PRODUCTION, WHICH HE STATED WERE CLEARLY ATTAINABLE, AND NOTED THAT EXPANSION OF IRRIGATION SYSTEMS IS A HIGHLY IMPORTANT COMPONENT. A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF LAND REFORM RESULTED IN THE CON-SENSUS THAT IT IS PROCEEDING SLOWLY, BUT SATISFACTORILY.

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HOWEVER, IT WAS AGREED THAT THE RELATIONSHIP OF LAND

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R 010904Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3403

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REFORM TO PRODUCTIVITY IS UNCLEAR. SOLARZ ASKED ABOUT
THE RELATIONSHIP OF MARTIAL LAW TO DEVELOPMENT. FORMER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY MELCHOR ASSERTED, AND OTHERS AGREED,
THT "IT GOT THINGS GOING" BUT THAT MOMENTUM IS FADING.
IS CONTINUATION OF MARTIAL LAW THEREFORE NECESSARY? THERE WAS NO
CLEAR CONSENSUS ON THIS QUESTION, BUT A FEELING THAT
CAUTION IS NEEDED, AND THAT REVERSION TO EARLIER CHAOTIC
CONDITIONS IS POSSIBLE. TANCO SUGGESTED THAT NEW LAND-
HOLDERS FEAR THE RETURN OF OLD LANDLORDS SHOULD MARTIAL
LAW BE LIFTED. IN ANY CASE, IT WAS GENERALLY AGREED
THAT DEMOCRACY AS PREVIOUSLY PRACTICED IN THE RP WAS A
MOCKERY, AND THAT NEW FORMS OF PARTICIPATION ARE
NECESSARY. BUDGET DIRECTOR LAYA THOUGHT THAT MARCOS
IS GENUINELY SEARCHING FOR THESE FORMS AND IS TAKING
TENTATIVE STEPS IN THAT DIRECTION. PROFESSOR DE GUZMAN
(UP SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION) SUGGESTED SOME
ALTERNATIVES, E.G., A LOWER HOUSE OF ELECTED OFFICIALS
AND AN UPPER HOUSE OF APPOINTED TECHNOCRATS. ALL AGREED
THAT SOME FORM OF DIRECT ELECTION IS NECESSARY.

8. CONCERNING THE ROLE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, MELCHOR
ATTESTED TO ITS IMPORTANCE, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN
ON THE BASIS OF CAPITAL NEEDS; THE RP MUST RECEIVE RISING
LEVELS OF BOTH OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND PRIVATE
CAPITAL FLOWS IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN ITS DEVELOPMENT PLANS. SOLARZ
ASKED HOW THE U.S. COULD JUSTIFY FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
IN VIEW OF ITS OWN DOMESTIC NEEDS. PROF. LAPUZ (UP OPLICICAL
SCIENCE) ASSERTED THAT AID DOES NOT INVOLVE A COST TO THE DONER,

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WHICH RECEIVES AT LEAST THE AMOUNT OF ITS DONATION IN
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RETURN. SOLARZ CHALLENGED THIS VIEW AND STATED HIS
BELIEF THAT EXTENSION OF AID RESTS IMPORTANTLY ON
ALTRUISM. CONCERNING THE RELATIVE ATTRACTIVENESS OF
BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AID, MOST PARTICIPANTS
SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT BILATERAL AID HAS A ROLE, BUT IS
LESS DESIRABLE BECAUSE OF THE RELATIVELY MORE RESTRICTIVE
STRINGS ATTACHED.

9. CONGRESSMAN SOLZRZ DISCUSSED THE POPULATION PROGRAM,
PARTICULARLY THE OUTREACH PROGRAM, AT A WORKING BREAKFAST
ON NOVEMBER 25 WITH THE USAID CHIEF OF THE POPULATION
OFFICE AND DR. FLORA BAYAN OF THE POPULATION COMMISSION.
THIS SUBJECT LATER AROSE DURING A WORKING LUNCH --
TRISTRAN EASTWOOD OF THE UNFPA IMPLIED THAT USAID IS
IMPOSING AN UNWANTED PROGRAM ON THE GOP. SOLARZ
STATED THAT HE BELIEVED A DONOR COUNTRY HAS AN
OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE WHERE IT CAN -- WHICH
THE RECEIPIENT IS OF COURSE FREE TO REJECT -- AND THAT
HE BELIEVED THE GOP IS COMMITTED TO THE OUTREACH PROGRAM.

10. MANUEL ALBA, DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL
ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (NEDA) MADE THE
FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS DURING A CALL BY SOLZRZ: MARTIAL
LAW HAS BEEN IMPORTANT IN INITIATING A REFORM OF
ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS AND IN PLACING A PROPER EMPHASIS
ON INFRASTRUCTURE. LAND REFORM IS STILL IN THE "GESTATION
PERIOD." INCOME REDISTRIBUTION HAS BEEN DIFFICULT TO
QUANTIFY, BUT PROGRAMS OF RECENT YEARS HAVE RESULTED IN
IMPORTANT GAINS IN EMPLOYMENT GENERATION AND REGIONAL
DISPERSION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. EVEN THOUGH FOREIGN
AID IS A RELATIVELY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
DEVELOPMENT BUDGET, ITS ABSENCE WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT,
SINCE IT PROVIDES AN IMPORTANT INPUT TO CAPITAL TECH-
NOLOGY.

11. DURING A WORKING LUNCH ON NOVEMBER 25 WITH REPRE-
SENTATIVES OF UNDP, UNFPA, AND THE AUSTRALIAN AND
JAPANESE EMBASSIES, THE UNDP REP. ARGUED FOR A GREATER
U.S. COMMITMENT TO MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AND
CLAIMED THAT BILATERAL AID IS INFERIOR BECAUSE OF
"STRINGS." THIS WAS HOTLY CONTESTED BY THE AUSTRALIAN
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REP., WHO STATED THAT AUSTRALIA DOES NOT AND PROBABLY
COULD NOT SEEK ADVANTAGES IN OTHER FIELDS BECAUSE OF ITS
AID PROGRAM. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT MARTIAL
LAW HAS BEEN IMPORTANT TO DEVELOPMENT; E.G., THE AUSTRALIANS
ARE ENGAGED IN PROJECTS IN MINDANAO THEY WOULD
NOT OTHERWISE DO (NOTWITHSTANDING PROBLEMS WITH THOSE
PROJECTS, INCLUDING A RECENT AMBUSH IN WHICH SEVERAL
ROAD PROJECT WORKERS WERE KILLED). CONCERNING THE
EFFECT ON DEVELOPMENT OF LIFTING MARTIAL LAW AT THIS
TIME, THERE WAS NO DEMURRAL TO THE AUSTRALIAN'S
STATEMENT THAT THE QUESTION IS MOOT, BECAUSE "IT'S
NOT GOING TO BE LIFTED." THE JAPANESE REP REFERRED
TO THEIR PROBLEMS IN IDENTIFYING SUITABLE PROJECTS
TO PRESENT TO THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP, PROJECTS WHICH
WOULD ALSO MEET THE OBJECTIONS OF FREQUENT CRITICS
IN THE DIET.

12. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ' NOVEMBER 25 MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT MARCOS HAS BEEN REPORTED IN REFTEL.

13. COMMENT: THE ENERGY AND SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE
WHICH CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ BROGHT TO THIS VISIT IN-
VARIABLY MADE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION ON HIS
INTERLOCUTORS. WE BELIEVE IT WAS USEFUL, PARTICULARLY
AT THIS TIME, TO REMIND GOP OFFICIALS AND OTHERS HERE
OF THE CONTINUITIES IN U.S. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE
POLICY; I.E., A COMMITMENT TO ASSISTANCE, A CONCERN
FOR ITS APPLICATION AND EFFECTS, AND A CONCERN FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS. SOLARZ MADE GOOD USE OF HIS LONG
MEETING WITH MARCOS TO BRING THESE POINTS HOME. ON
THE OTHER HAND, SOLARZ MADE THE MOST OF THE 51 HOURS
AVAILABLE TO GAIN AN APPRECIATION OF THE COMPLEXITIES
OF THE DEVELOPMENT PICUTRE HERE, PARTICULARLY FROM
THE GOP VIEWPOINT. A MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION
COULD NOT BE ARRANGED DUE TO LACK OF TIME AND ONE PARTICIPANT
IN THE NOVEMBER 24 DINNER-DISCUSSION (SOCIOLOGIST MARY HOLLN-
STEINER) LATER EXPRESSED HER CONCERN THAT SOLARZ' EXPOSURE WAS
TOO HEAVILY PRO-GOVERNMENT. NEVERTHELESS, SOLARZ PREVIOUSLY MET
OPPOSITION FIGURES DURING HIS 1975 VISIT AND IS COGNIZANT OF THEIR
POSITIONS. IN SHORT, WE BELIEVE THAT SOLARZ' CONSIDERABLE EFFORT
WAS WELL-SPENT, AND BENEFICIAL TO BOTH SIDES. ENC COMMENT.
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14. THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO DRAFT AND CLEAR THIS MESSAGE
PRIOR TO SOLARZ' DEPARTURE. IN ACCORDANCE WITH STATE 251471,
REQUEST THAT H OBTAIN CLEARANCE, AND THAT DEPARTMENT THEN MAKE
APPROPRIATE DISTRIBUTION.
SULLIVAN

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To: STATE
Type: TE
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